2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the *bareth Nyakang*. This is ground and made into porridge with water
796 brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

643 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and
782 also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *bareth*.

755 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and
782 spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December,
796 1921, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete:—

[184] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1921, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *zagharit*.
[574] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony its

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

> "When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 154-6.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect." [1]

756 775 [743] The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago* alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Boc (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognized that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

[113] [1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 125.

III. SICKNESS.

22. Treatment of Sick People.

Ŋīŋ kɲá mâgɨ yí jwɔ̀k, ka jī dwɔ̀, ka jī kʃ́ɨ́ kíɲɛ: ŋīŋ a ɲɨ́ɨ́ wɔr kí jwɔ̀k? Ká jī à kʃ́ɨ́ɲ̀: ŋīŋ e mâgɨ́ kʃ́dí yí jwɔ̀k? Ká dyɛ̀l dwɔ̀, ka ŋrɨ lâmɔ̀ lîma jwɔ̀k, ka yíɨ́ dyɛ̀l ɛ́ʃ́k, ka pí wɛ́tí rɨ, ká dyɛ̀l e nʃ́k, rɨmɛ kʃ́ʃ́ɛ fɛ́t, ka chám yì tʰrɔ̀. Ka ŋrɨ tʃ́yɔ̀. Ka ŋwá ɨ kʃ́ɛ́ jwɔ́k á dwɔ́á kí rɨ, ka ɛjwɔ̄ŋgɨ dwɔ̀. Ka ɛjwɔ̄ŋgɨ bʃ́ɲɔ, ka a kíɲɛ kíɲɛ: kɲá kí kwɔ́r, ka e kɔ: kɲá kí kʃ́ɨ́, ka e kɔ: kɲá kí lîɲ, ka e kɔ: kɲá kí dyɛ̀l! Ká dyɛ̀l kʃ́l, ka ŋīŋ e kíɲɛ fʃ́l, ká dyɛ̀l chʃ́ɨ́ wíj tʰrɔ̀, ka dyɛ̀l yɛ́jɛ hák, ka yɛ́jɛ wɛ́mà kâgɨ́; ka ŋīŋ kíɲɛ fɔ́ɔk, ká jwɔ̀k á wɔ́tɨ́.

When a man is seized by sickness, people are called for, and the people ask: "Does he spend the whole night with sickness (is he troubled by night, so that he does not sleep)?" Again they ask: "How did the sickness come?" And a goat is brought, and the people pray, pray to God; then the ear of the goat is cut off; spittle is sprinkled on the body of the sick person; the goat is killed, its blood flows on the earth; the meat is eaten by the people. Now the people scatter (go home). If next day the sickness is still bad on him, a sorcerer is sent for. When the sorcerer comes, he says: "Bring a hoe!" and: "Bring a fish-spear!" and: "Bring a skin-cloth," and: "Bring a goat!"[1] When the goat is brought, the sick man is brought into the bush. The goat is put on the top of a white ant hill; its belly is cut open; when this is finished, the man is carried home, and the sickness disappears.

23. Another Report on Sickness.

Jwɔ̀á wʃ́ɲɛ ɛ́ɨ́ɨ́ŋ fá dwɔ́l̀. Ka ɛjwɔ̄ŋgɨ dwɔ̀, ka ɛjwɔ̄ŋgɨ kʃ́ɲɔ, ka e kɔ kíɲɛ: kɲá kwɔ́r, wɔ́ɲɔ kwɔ́á yɛ́ɨ. Ka dyɛ̀l kʃ́l, ka lîɲ kʃ́l, ka ɛtɛ́ɲɛ̀ kʃ́l, ká pâl̀ kʃ́l, ka kɲ́ kʃ́l, ka ɲwɔ́k kʃ́l, ká líɛ́ kʃ́l, ká kʃ́ɲɔ kʃ́l, ka ɛtɛ́ɲɛ̀ kʃ́ɲ fʃ́á ɨ́ tʰídʃ́t, ka yɛ́jɛ tîr mɛ́l. Ka ŋīŋɛ kʃ́l, ŋīŋ fʃ́ɔ́ɔ yɛ́jɛ, ka ɛ́ɔ yɨ́l ŋɛ́ɔ ɛ́kʃ́p ɛ́ɛ́ʃ́ŋ, jɔ ɛ́ɔ wɔ́dɛ́ chʃ́p ɛ́ɛ́mɛ; ka ɛtɛ́ɲɛ̀ wʃ́ŋ́, ka ɛtɛ́ɲɛ̀ ɛ ŋ́. Ka ɲɛ́ ŋwɛ́ɲɛ́ wɔ́l̀, ká dyɔ́ɔ́ɲɛ́ hák, ka wɔ́í ŋɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ rɔ́ɔ ŋɛ́ɔ; ka mɛ́ɛ́ŋ ɛ́ʃ́ɨ́, ka ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ŋ ɛ́ʃ́ɨ́, ká dɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ kʃ́l, ka ŋɛ́ kwɔ́á wɛ́ɨ́ ɛ́ɨ́t. Ka yɛ́ɨ́ ɛ́ʃ́k, ka ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɲɔ́ yɛ́, ka wʃ́kɨ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɲ fɛ́ɛ́, ká ŋɛ́ wɔ́dɛ́ ɲɔ. Ka ɛtʃ́ŋɛ́ rʃ́ɲ, wɔ́lwɔ́ɛ́ŋ̀, ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ ɲɔ́ŋ̀, ka ŋɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ɛ́, ká kɨ́ɨ́ kʃ́ɨ́, ká kʃ́ɨ́ɨ́ kʃ́ɨ́, ka ɲɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ kwɔ́ɛ́, ka kíɲɛ yɛ́ɨ́ yɨ́, ka ɛ́ɨ́ɨ́ yɨ́ yɨ́, ka yí kíɲɛ ɲɛ́ɲ ɨ́wɔ́ɨ́, ŋɛ́ ɛ́kʃ́ɨ́ fʃ́ɛ́; ka kɲ́ kwɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɲɔ, ka-kwɔ́r kwɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɲɔ, ka fʃ́ɨ́ɲ́ kwɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɲɔ, ka ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ kwɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɲɔ, ká dyɛ̀l kwɔ́ɛ́ɛ́[2] ɲɔ.

Another sickness is called *dwɔ́l̀ŋ*. When this falls on a man, the sorcerer is sent for. When he comes, he says: "Bring a hoe to dig medicine with." Then

[1] These all are the fee of the witch-doctor.
[2] kwɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɲɔ.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 ●755 a goat is brought, and a skin-cloth, and a ram, and a knife, and a round spear, and a certain (kind of) grass, and a fan, and a gourd. The ram is laid on the earth at the door of the hut, with its belly turned upwards. Then the sick man is brought, he sits down on the belly of the ram, his wife is placed behind him (on the ram), and his youngest son in front of him; thus they hold the ram fast, till it dies. Then they rise, the belly of the ram is cut open, the contents of the stomach are taken out and smeared on their bodies (of these three persons). The heart also is cut out, and the bowels. The hoof is cut off, and these things are buried at the door of the hut. Now the medecine is crushed, it is mixed with water, it is given to the sick man, and drunk by him. And they string beads, red ones, their name is *ɣīrɣ*, they are tied about his back. The fan is cut in pieces, and the gourd too, and the grass is taken, and brought into the [756] bush on the pathway, it is thrown on the pathway; water is poured into the gourd and thrown on the ground. The round spear is taken by the sorcerer, so are the hoe, the knife, the meat, and the ram.

24. Sicknesses.

753 827

dwālɛ the abdomen is swollen, pains, diarrhoea.

tɟá heart-ache, pulmonary

dɛ̀ɲɛ́ɲɛ̀ cold, catarrh. [disease.

dɛ̀ɟɛ̀ɲ insanity, lunacy.

owin wɛ́ch giddiness.

dɛ̀ɲgí teeth fall out, pains in the bones.

àlàt dropsy, hydropsy.

àdbé pains in the buttocks.

dhágé rheumatic pains, chiefly in the legs; feeling cold.

ɟɛ̀ɲu guinea worm, Ferendit of the Arabs; filaria medinensis.

àmwɛ̀l swelling of knees and

lɟí leprosy [elbows.

ɛ́ɓɛ̀ a disease of the head, the hair comes out in consequence of ulcerous inflammation.

ajaŋkolygɛ the skin peels off.

ɪ̀r caries.

wɛ̀ɛ́ a kind of light leprosy.

kwɛ̀m kwɛ̀m swelling of the shinbone.

kumír salt-rheum, "lupus".

ajɛ̀ɣgì small-pox.

àbíp a sickness manifesting itself in strong fevers, generally mortal, chiefly children suffer from it.

gí bwɛ́ŋɛ "thing of the stranger", that is: of the Arab; siphylis.

kɛ̀ɟɛ̀ɲ inflammation of the finger-joints; parts of the finger rot off.

dɛ́ɲɛ̀ɲ inflammation of the joints; of the toes.

àmɛ̀n gonorrhoea.

lɛ̀r boils.

VIII. PRAYERS AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

62. A Prayer to God.

Mālá yín, yina jwŋk, dɛ gɛ kwàchà yín kɨ wgr. A kôr jì kɨdí chán lɛn. Ka chɛ̄ɛ̄ kɨ kɨlí llm, chāāá rí, a nlnɨ́ kɨ wɛt, nlnó rí. Dɛ́ gɛ̀ málà yín kɨ gin chom a nɨ wdkè jū, kɨ pík a nɨ́ mɛ̄t, kɨ wèl a kôrè yín. Byń an fɔ́ɛ́ wíjì, yina jwŋk; yina lɛk kwa Ñikūūŋ; fanɛ wún a chāāɨ́ kɨ jwŋk; yina lɛk kwá, kɨ nārí Dák. A yiɛt ryak, ryak fa mɛ́jí yin? Nami à chɛ́ɛ́ɨ́ ɛ́nd ɛ́lèń, fī ɛ̄ɛ̄, rɛnɛ fa kɛ̄ɛ yí; yina jwŋk, dɛ gɛ̄ nɨ́ lɛmɛ́ mɛn? Fɛtɛ yín, yina jwŋk, kɨ ɛna yìk Ñikūń, kɨ nārí Dák? Dɛ wèl fa mɛ́gí chɛ́? Fanɛ yín y tíní mál.

Chāāɨ́, kí ɛ́ɛ́ɨ́ chwɛ́p, kí wèl kwán, ka ɛ̄ɛ̄ re ńanɛ a re da jwŋk, kɨ pí wgɛ rɛ. Ka yíɛ́ ɛ́lèń ńɛ́l, twoy tyɛ̄lɛ, ka bàt yún ńɛ́l, ka ɛ́ɛ́l ànànànàn; fa kɛ́l yí jɛ. Ká chwàí mɛ́ɛ́pɛ́, ka kgɛ́ fɛ́t, mgk jwŋk.

"I implore thee, thou God, I pray to thee during the night. How are all people kept by thee all days! And thou walkest in the midst of the (high) grass, I walk with thee; when I sleep in the house, I sleep with thee. To thee I pray for food, and thou givest it to the people; and water to drink; and the soul is kept (alive) by thee. There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If a famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thus: if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, to whom shall we pray, is it not to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who liftest up (the sick)."

That is all; and the cow is speared; and the contents of her stomach are taken out, and are thrown on the body of the man who is sick ("is with God"); and water is poured on his body. And one ear of the cow is cut off. (it is cut into strips, these are tied together and the whole) is tied round the leg (of the sick one). And the right foreleg (of the cow) is cut off, and it is cooked at once; the people are not allowed to taste of it. They make a little broth out of it; that is poured on the ground: it is the thing (property) of God.[1]

63. A Prayer for Rain and the Ceremonies connected with it.

Tyɛ́ɛ́ a mɛ́n nɨ́ lɛ̄ɛ̄ɨ́, ka gɛ lɛn lɛn lɛn, kɛ́n kɨ gɛ́p kɨ kɛ́ɛ́jí, ka gɛ lɛnɛ, ka rɛ̄ɨ́ a wɛ̄r, ka gɛ wɛnɛnɛ, ka gí gwɛ̄ɛ̄ɨ́ kɨ kur kwɛ̄ɛ̄ŋ, kɨ kur lɛ̄ɛ̄ɨ́, kɨ kur tur, kɨ chɛ̄ɛ̄ɨ́. Ka rɛ̄m gɛ gwɛ̄ɨ́, ka gɛ chɛ̄ɛ̄ɨ́, ka tyɛ́ɛ́ a gɛ̄t, ka ɛ́ɛ́ɨ́ lɛ̄ɛ̄ɨ́, ka ɛ́ɛ́ɨ́ chwɛ́p,

[1] This is said to be the only prayer to Jwok. It is prayed on any occasion when a thief, as sickness, famine, war, falls on the people. The prayer is said by "old people", by the chief, or some other respected person of the village. The children were taught it by Nyikang.

539*

There was a jwok[1] who was called Agok; he was manifested by a certain wizard. A certain man was a wizard. He bewitched cows, so that the cows fell down. And the people ran to the house (of Agok) saying, "Ah, Agok, a cow has died." He asked, "By whom has it been killed?" The man said, "I do not know." Agok ordered, "Assemble the people." And the people assembled. Agok asked (the wizard), "Man, is it not you who bewitch the cattle?" The wizard answered, "Yes, it is I". Agok asked, "Why?" The wizard replied, "Because I want to try you (whether you are able to find out who did it)." Agok said, Ha, you are a cursed one! You cursed black-eyed one! Why are you always bewitching the cattle of the people?" He answered, "Only to try you whether you really are strong." Agok said, "Well, we have met. Now go and make amends!" He made amends with three cows.

Then the man went away and planted (a charm) in a field. The proprietor of the field was (while sleeping) wakened by Agok[2] with the words, "Man, go, there is a wizard in your field." But the man did not go, he thought he was dreaming. The next morning, when he went to the field, he found the charm which the wizard had put into the earth. He came home saying, "Something has been planted into my field by a wizard." Agok said to him, "Why do you ask me about this matter? I have told you already saying, 'Go, the wizard has planted a charm into your field. Therefore go!' Why did you refuse?" He replied, "I thought I was only dreaming." Agok gave order, "Assemble the people!" When all the people were assembled, Agok asked, "You wizard, why have you (tried to) kill people? you are going to kill the whole village" („you surround the village with killing"). He answered, "It is not I." But Agok replied, "You cursed one, I will surely kill you!" And he killed him. When the witch doctors saw that, they all repented, and they were much afraid. Then the people scattered.

And Agok was called king by the people. The people listened to his words [755] (were obedient to him). They used to say, "If any man becomes sick, he goes to Agok, that he may be helped." He gives him (that is, the one who wants help gives to Agok) cattle, two cows, one cow is speared (sacrificed), and one he keeps alive, it becomes the cow of jwok.

[1] "god". [2] It is not meant that Agok went to wake him, but he wakened him in a vision.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As can be seen from some of the effects of the evil eye, the Shilluk's 753
idea of sickness has much to do with the increasing of their belief in the 754
evil eye. They do not think of a disease as being contagious so much, as
they think of it being spread by some hostile agency. Some people carry
their views to such lengths, that they are inclined to think that every ac-
cident, and every case of sickness is caused by some occult agency. The
power may be exercised by some other agent than the person with the evil
eye.

When a person is taken sick, all the symptoms are very thoroughly dis-
cussed by the people of the village, and if some mysterious features or
circumstances are brought to light, it is immediately looked upon as a visi-
tation from some occult power. Most cases of sickness present some puzzling
features, and so it is easy to give credit to the evil eye for much of it. Most
accidents occur not because someone was careless, but because some hid-
den power was invoked against the person. The patient is then taken to 755
the good medicine man. He goes through certain forms to determine the
source of the evil charm. He may decide it is from the evil eye, or from
an evil medicine man.

When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims
to do two things. The first is to cure the person suffering, and the second
is to put that particular charmer with the evil eye out of business. A sheep
is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he
blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he is cured, and at the 754
same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will 755
happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the
eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure
does not take effect. When the person who casts the charm hears of the
cure performed by the medicine man, he hastens to him at night, and be-
seeches him to spare his eyes. The medicine man exacts a good fee from
him, and then assures him that he will save his eyes, but warns him not
to do it again, and threatens to kill him if he sees him casting the evil eye
on another person.

A person with the evil eye can cure a person who is suffering from the
evil eye. Of course he gets a good fee for it. Before he takes the case he
gets a small fee, such as a sheep or a hoe, and after the case is cured he

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person who is to treat him. The latter says: "You have come near me, therefore you will not die". He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger, for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people, nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are done by the evil medicine men. He cuts off a cow's tail, and it becomes barren; but if he treats a bull in the same way, it brings disaster on the house of the owner. Any mishap that may come to him is sure to be caused by the fact that his bull was maimed. 754

He may not be able to get a person in any other way, and finally kills his dog. That causes the death of the master. He slips into a house, and cuts off a bit of the skin on which the people sleep. The people who sleep in that house all die. He watches a person as he walks and counts his steps. The person dies. He defiles food, and those eating it die that very day. If the food is given to a dog it coughs, and swells, but it does not die. He cuts a bit out of the loin cloth of a woman, and she becomes sterile.

For one special device of the evil medicine men the good medicine men have a special counter. The evil man makes a mud image of the man he expects to kill. He sticks nails in the ears of the effigy, and puts it in the fire. The man will either die or go crazy. The good medicine man makes another image of the man when he comes for help, and it is put in water, and that tends to neutralize the heat on the other image. [755]

They have the power to bewitch a herd of cattle so that all the milk is found in the udders of their own cows, or they can injure the grain in the fields. One of the evil medicine men sees the field of a certain man yielding very abundantly, and he becomes envious. He waits till the next crop has been planted, and is just coming up. He then goes to the field at night and pulls up a bit of the grain, and then throws a dead snake in the field. From that time on the field will not bear, and the owner takes a new field and leaves the old one. He may hear that a certain person is a very fast hoer. He goes at night and takes a bit of the soil from his field, and in so doing achieves a double victory. The owner of the field loses his power to hoe, and the field loses its fertility. 754 789

These men with the occult power are said to be envious of the man with a large family, and for that reason they cast many spells on little children, and they must be guarded so as not to come into the presence of such an evil man. When he spits on a child, it dies. The reason for this envy is that the man can not have a large family. He may have many children, but as a judgment for the blood on his hands most of them die in infancy. 754 842

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

All the evil medicine men keep snakes, but usually they have them in a 231
guard or den in the fields, though a few of the most powerful have kept 754
the snakes in their houses. To deceive the people, they pretend to have
snakes.

A man, who is reliable, tells this story of a transaction he witnessed. 754
He was making a short trip. He came to a village where the people were 683
very much excited. He found that the cause of the trouble was that a sick
man said he had been bewitched by an evil medicine man named Akomedel. Poor Akomedel was brought into the centre of the village, and beaten by all of the people, until at last he cried out: "Do not kill me, I did it, but I will cure him. I will remove the charm I have put on him." Akomedel then went into the house of the sick man, and took out a bit of hollow sesbach wood that had been hidden in the grass of the roof. Inside of it were, a charm, an egg, and a lizard. The people were not satisfied, and they began to beat him again. He then went to the field of the afflicted man, and got a charm that had been buried there. It was a large stick with an iron ring at each end, and stretched between the rings was a lizard. He next went to the doorway of the patient, and took up a cooking vessel that had been buried there. The vessel was full of charms, eggs, and lizards. The chief of the village asked him why he wanted to kill the man, and he said: "He cursed me because I killed one of his relatives". Akomedel then took a white sheep, and said: "I will save the man". The sheep was cut open while yet alive, and the contents of the stomach were put on the patient, and on his house. The blood was put in the hole where the cooking vessel had been buried. He then said: "The man will get well; even though you kill me, he will recover". The people wanted to kill the witch, but the chief intervened to save his life. It was expected that the man recovered after a long illness.

It can easily be seen that many ills can readily be diagnosed as coming 755
from an evil medicine man. When the good medicine man has found that the malady was caused by an evil medicine man, he proceeds to break the charm. Different methods are used, but one or two will suffice. While the medicine man is working, the parents of the patient pray for him, if they are living. In case they are dead, his male relatives pray for him. The patient sits on the ground while the healer jumps over him in such a way as

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to encircle him with his legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to kneed his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a cooking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three highly pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles it he prays: "Help my breast that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine)."

[782]

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

754 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their
602 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves
754 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try
755 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two cows were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: "You see the man, and the law. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him." The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

751 Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cer-
791 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some mishap would ever take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give as a fee the first fish taken, and

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, foot, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and my ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby.

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their children are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he usually only has a few children.

13: Cyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine-men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on [684] 751] a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in [224] the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any [724] sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done [753] by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The 755] power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

754 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. 781 He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

752 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water.

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome.

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass.

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest.

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them.

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualise the fate of his victims. For example,

future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

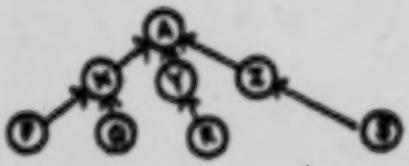
After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwale*.

Dwale[30]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ore* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *par* A as *myer mam ore*,[31] that is to say *myer ore* of the *myer ore* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ore* of A," an exact translation of "*myer mam ore* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ore* of the second degree (*pa mam ore*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwale* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man having relations with a women to whom he is related; but it seems that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ore* and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa mam ore* girl. This may require explanation. As already said

30. *Dwale* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has induced her to contravention of the taboo strikes a prophylactic exaction by spitting a gourd, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the gourd in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwale*."

31. *Myer* is the plural of *par*.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of rak Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

They passed the village of the new *rak*, paying no attention to it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for covering pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular song was :—

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,
Nyikang's land will prosper still."

The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

28: Oylar M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shillluk FJ23

devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into 75
people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit 76
of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater 77
part profess to be acting for Nikawag, though Dak has a numerous following. 75
People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king
claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person
is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and
his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they
are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about
or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these
signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to
tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a 77
vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is 755
taken near the fire. A band is put on the forehead of the person to be
treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims
head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the
boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to
run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that
case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put
under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under
the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a
second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not
burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are 756
taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep
are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads
are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich
egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's
hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then
revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. 757
The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king 758
and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep
is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The
ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the working of the servants of Nikawng. The stories have been told by different Shilluks, and while they vary in minor details they have been essentially the same. 756

In one form of healing they use a plant. The root is taken, and chewed very fine by the healer. He then puts his mouth to the nostrils of the patient and causes the chewed plant to pass from his mouth to the nostril of the sick person. He then puts his mouth over the nose of the other, and blows very hard so that the medicine will be blown into the head of the patient. If the victim should sneeze after the treatment, he will recover. If he does not, he will die. 755 [787]

The servants of the king are especially qualified to cast birds out of people. Often, when a person is asleep, a bird perches on him, and later gains an entrance into his body. When the healer is called, she takes the sufferer to an ant-hill, and compels him to lie on the mound. A chicken is killed, cut open, and thrown out on the plain for the dispossessed birds to enter. Then a lighted torch is passed around the head of the patient in a circle. When they start home the healer follows, and fans the air with her clothes to scare the birds away. Some other woman carries a spear, which she thrusts into the air to kill the birds. When the entrance to the enclosure about the house is reached, a spear is stuck into both sides of it. After the patient enters the house the healer strikes the house and sticks a spear near the door. That spear is to keep the birds away, and is to belong to the healer when the case is cured. However it is usually taken, even when the cure is not effected, as it is to compensate for the lost time of the healer. The fee for such a treatment is a spear, a hoe, a cloth, and two sheep one of which is killed. This treatment is for the birds, which enter children. Adults are afflicted by a different kind of bird, which must be cast out in another way. 756

Colds which affect children are treated by taking the patient to an ant-hill near the river. A small grass house is constructed, and the child, and its mother placed within. The house is then set on fire, and the servant of the king cries "The house is on fire." The mother rushes out with the child, and hastens to the village. The healer follows fanning the child, with her clothes. The mother and child enter the house. The healer enters the house, and then turns with her face out of the door, and fans outward 755

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: "Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) or I would not have died." The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. "I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return." Sometimes such a message causes the relatives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: "Ah the man". The spirit greeted the people, and

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they made answer. The spirit then said: «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases.

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast.

When a servant of a king begs he says: «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted.

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief.

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer.

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people.

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty calabash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth

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778 776 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To [731] [782] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 782 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals 756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by 754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works 756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or 755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in [757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened